1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another
574 opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group
621 of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself. The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of
[578] men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills. The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing
[411] of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives, axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion. He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

184 The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony,
177 certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the
291 fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in
184 weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all
302 round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several
291 wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belonging to this group had been through the *matawatf* ceremony, and so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

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PLATE 26

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FEMALE *URAR* FIGURE AT *WAPI* CEREMONY

[facing p. 213]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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224 side on the ground. A twist is given before withdrawing the spear, and if it has been done skilfully, death follows instantaneously; but if the pig grunts or squeals or struggles, the weapon is put in again, and sometimes two or three twists are given before the unfortunate animal ceases to breathe. Nowadays the spear is a length of iron [411] rod; in the olden days a stick of hard wood sharpened to a point was used; these are still employed if no iron is at hand. I have also seen pigs killed by a knife thrust instead of the spear.

252 A large fire is made, with big logs, and as soon as the pig is dead —I wish I were certain that they always wait long enough—it is picked up, still on its pole, and held over the flames till all the hair is singed (Pl. 35). Two men hold the pole, one at each end, the others look on with interest. When the hair is thoroughly singed, the pig is laid on the ground, and several men set to work to scrape off the singed hair with knives and sharp shells until the skin is fairly clean. If there is any blood on the body from the wound, the pig is taken to the sea and washed before it is singed. A longitudinal cut is made in the belly from snout to tail, through which the entrails are removed. Stomach and intestines are carefully washed in the sea, cleaned by being scraped with bits of stick, and then cut up and put into a pot, together with the lungs, kidneys, liver, &c. Practically no portion of the pig is thrown away. The blood is dipped up out of the body with a coco-nut shell, and poured into the pot, which is then filled up with water and set on a fire to boil. It is skimmed at intervals with the mid-rib of a coco-nut palm leaf, sharpened to a point. Its contents do not form part of the ceremonial meal for which the rest of the animal is destined, neither would they be given to guests, but are eaten as an ordinary meal by the men who attend to the cooking, when they so desire.

[565] The liver is regarded as a special delicacy, and usually falls to the lot of the *tununa*. The pig is cut into thick sections transversely, the head forming the first portion. These 'joints' are cooked slightly by being placed on the fire for a few minutes till scorched on one side, then turned with the aid of poles and scorched on the other side. They are taken off the fire and laid on banana leaves spread for the purpose, either on the ground or on the verandah of a near-by hut, and are finally divided among the people concerned, who take them away and cut them into smaller pieces. These are wrapped up, with some taro, in packets covered with leaves, with which coco-nut-leaf baskets are filled for the

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the *urar* Kilok speaking up above (thunder), and the rain will fall.

When he wishes the rain to cease, he goes to the place where he hid the coco-nuts and empties out the water, then the rain will stop.

As is usual, Sobak, as a rain-maker, also knows the procedure for controlling the wind. The essential part of this is the same as that given me by Riamē and Kakari, i.e. the chewing of certain leaves with the betel-mixture and spitting it in the direction from which you wish the wind to come. But you must be careful not to spit too far or you will produce a wind so strong that it will blow down the houses and destroy all the canoes that are at sea. This is sometimes done on purpose, in order to injure some man against whom the rain-maker has a grudge.

The most important part of the rain-making procedure appears to be the filling of some receptacle with water, and pouring it out again. This occurs in all three of the methods here described. Furthermore, it happened that once, when I wanted to cross the bay at a time when a high wind was blowing, and Pinari told me to ask Riamē to fasten the wind for us, Riamē said he did not think he could, because he had given two of the coco-nuts away, one to me, and the other to a friend of his at Pororan, and had not yet prepared others to take their places.

It is quite certain that the rain-makers really believe in their powers, as do all the other natives. Since the rain-making ritual would not be carried out unless there had been some considerable period of fine weather, it is probable that rain follows more often than not, in view of the heavy rainfall of the country. This would, naturally, be looked upon as the result of their endeavours. On the other hand, as I experienced more than once, failures can easily be explained away by putting the blame on the more powerful magic of a rival.

HUNTING

Pig-hunting

The young men spend a great deal of time strolling in the bush with their dogs and spears, ostensibly for the purpose of catching bush pigs. The spear in use for this purpose is now usually a thin iron rod, but it may be still, as it used to be, of hard wood. No attempt is ever made to decorate these working spears, nor are they

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411 furnished with bone barbs as are the spears formerly used in war, and now kept for ceremonial purposes.

224 When a large number of pigs is required for some feast, a drive is organized in which all the men and boys of the village take part. [462] Even quite little boys will be allowed to join, but the women do not go. 'It isn't women's work', they said when I asked if the women ever helped on these occasions. But, as usual, they made an exception in my favour, so that I am able to give a first-hand description of the procedure.

224 286 283 They use a series of long nets, made of heavy string, consisting of a number of fibres of the plant used for string-making twisted together. The form of knot is the same as that used in fishing-nets, but the mesh is very large. It is measured round a wooden gauge shaped rather like the business end of a spade. Not every village possesses these nets; those who have none borrow from their 224 neighbours. A narrow path is cleared through the bush to allow of the nets being fixed end to end. About six nets are usually employed, they stretch for a distance of several hundred yards. The nets are pegged down with bits of wood, and kept taut by means of canes and tree stumps. Through the top is threaded a stout cord, carefully fastened to a stump at the end of each section. The height of the net from the ground to this cord is about 3 feet. Men sit or squat at short intervals along the line waiting to catch and tie the legs of any pig that is stopped by the net. Behind the line of nets, at some distance, the rest of the party and all the dogs form a wide semicircle, and gradually close in upon the nets. They shout and slash at the bush with their knives, driving any pigs which may be within the enclosed area up to the nets. Frequently one of the animals breaks through and escapes. This inevitably leads to recriminations among the men watching at the nets, and arguments as to which of them ought to have been brave enough to have prevented this catastrophe by putting his spear through the pig. Wounded boars can be very ferocious, and I have known men to be badly hurt by them. It is said that sometimes men are killed. After each such drive the net is taken up and reset in another place farther on. This process may be repeated many times during a day's hunt.

231 It not infrequently happens that one of the pigs thus caught turns out to be some one's property, since the village pigs have the run of the bush. A domestic pig will be recognized by the

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Opossum are sometimes required for ceremonial purposes. Large quantities of them must be caught before going out to cut the *pa'i* (ridge-poles) for the long house to be used at the *watawatʃ* ceremony. They are necessary also to the performance of one of the rain-making ceremonies, where they are offered to the *wur*.

Iguana

Men and boys go to the bush and look until they find an iguana in a tree. Then one of the party climbs the tree and startles the animal, which probably either falls down or tries to escape; in either case it will be caught by other men waiting at the tree-foot. It is killed by blows from a stick.

I do not know of any magic connected with iguana hunting. Perhaps its absence, or relative unimportance, if it exists, may be explained by the fact that these creatures are not much desired as food, and are therefore but little sought after.

Birds

Birds are shot with bow and arrows, the latter being made of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. The much larger and more elaborate arrows formerly used for war are now reserved for carrying at ceremonies, and are never used for hunting. But the same bow is used in both cases. Some of the little boys are very skilful in the use of these sago-palm leaf arrows.

Birds are also taken with nets. A man and a boy will go out before dawn; the man will climb a tree and stretch a net across it, keeping it taut by means of a stick. As the birds fly across it they are caught in its meshes, and the boy goes up and brings them down.

There is also a form of trap or snare used for taking birds. It is called *matsi*. I have not seen it in use, but two of the men constructed one in the village square for me to see how it was done (Fig. 11). Two sticks are placed upright on the ground, about 18 inches apart. A sapling is chosen, or put in on purpose, about 3 feet away from them. Its top is bent over, and a piece of fibre tied to it. At the other end of the piece of fibre a small twig is fastened. Two sticks are placed horizontally one above the other, passing from one of the uprights to the other. These are not fastened, but are held in place by the tension of the sapling pulling

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it good again, so that the sharks will not eat the fish that you are trying to catch with it. 226 824

Besides the procedure for the first use of a new kite, there is also a 'prescription' for ensuring a good catch on an ordinary occasion, which runs as follows:

Karawinoa (a shrub, probably belonging to the *Rubiaceae*).

Take some of the leaves, rub them in your hands, and put them into a coco-nut shell with a little sea-water. Lay the coco-nut shell on the outrigger of the canoe. Chew the root of the same plant with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on the string of the kite. When you catch your first fish for the day, pour a little of the mixture out of the coco-nut shell into its mouth and put it back into the sea. It will throw up the mixture; this will make the other garfish angry and plenty will come and take the lure.

B. *Reef fishing.*

The remaining fishing methods are of less importance, being regarded more in the nature of pastimes than as serious pursuits, though they make an appreciable difference to the food supply. They are carried out in shallow water near the shore, or on the reef at low tide. There is but little magical procedure associated with them, as they are not considered of sufficient importance. 226

5. *Bow and arrow.*

Small fish are shot with bow and arrow, the arrows made of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf, as used for shooting birds. Pieces of the leaf are left attached to the shaft to feather the arrows. The fish thus obtained are generally used for baiting a line, such shooting being the preliminary to a morning's fishing. The arrow is not retrieved by being attached to a string, but the fisherman follows it on foot. The names of seven varieties of small fish were given to me as being shot thus for purposes of bait. They are also eaten, but chiefly when other 'relish' for the taro is not forthcoming. 226 411

6. *Spear.*

Small fish are also, and more frequently, obtained by the use of a spear (*alak*, P., *kerug*, K.). Those in use at the present time have prongs of heavy wire flattened at the ends, usually six in number.

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226 411 In the olden days they were made of the wood of a species of areca-palm (not the edible one) which is very hard. Four spikes were set outside and a fifth in the centre. They say these spears made so much splash that they frightened the fish and so were much less effective than the present ones. The spear is plunged into the middle of a shoal of small fish (*silohon*, P.) resembling sardines, which come close in shore so that they can easily be reached by a man standing on a log or wading in shallow water. The spear is sometimes thrown and then picked up, or it may be tied to the end of a fishing line and pulled back after each throw. It is also used from a canoe (outrigger). I have seen boys use the spear to pole the canoe, much as we pole a punt; at the appropriate moment the spear is thrown, the boy picks up a paddle from the bottom of the canoe, and paddles the canoe, standing, until he can retrieve the spear.

226 373 This method of fishing is frequently carried on at night, with the aid of torches made of bundles of coco-nut-palm leaf fronds tied back on to the stem. The natives do not regard the light as a lure, but say it helps them to see the fish which are then speared. A number of canoes will go out together and fish in line, looking very picturesque with the sparks flying. If a spark ignites a man's loin-cloth or burns his skin he promptly jumps overboard. They would not let me accompany them on these expeditions for fear of my clothing catching alight.

7. *Line and hook.*

226 227 A simple line may be used without a rod, being thrown by hand. It is usually provided nowadays with a small trade hook, baited with a small fish caught by one of the two methods just described. If no hook is to hand, the fish is tied on to the end of the line. Sometimes a bit of wood is used as a float (*ta'oig*). By this means are caught the larger fish which prey upon the *silohon* (*kabeluk* in the Petats dialect, I think the trevally fish). A rod may also be used for these, wielded by a man standing on a rock or a log close inshore, and making a cast whenever the jumping of the shoal of *silohon* indicates that they are being pursued.

226 373 Line-fishing is also carried on by torchlight; I have the names of several kinds of fish usually caught in this manner. Here again, the natives say that they use the torches not to attract the fish, but to enable them to see where the fish are.

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Designs of shafts of spears and arrows.

The designs of arrow shafts are similar to those found in the other islands of the Solomon group, which have been discussed by H. Balfour (1893, p. 102).

Spears covered with an elaborately woven layer of grass coloured red and yellow in various patterns are carried on ceremonial occasions, but they are not made locally, being obtained from Kunua and other mountain people by barter. The patterns are similar to those on the woven arm-bands.

DRAWINGS

With the exception of a few young men who had experimented with paper and pencil during their time as plantation labourers, the nearest approach to drawing practised by these natives is to make marks in the sand or mud with a stick. I have seen a man demonstrate in this way the proper lay-out of a coco-nut plantation. Children sometimes use their toes.

I provided drawing-paper and coloured pencils, which most people had to be taught how to hold. After a certain amount of shyness, the idea caught on, especially among the young men, and there was a run on my drawing materials until they gave out. Some of their efforts are reproduced in Figs. 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 29. Sometimes the attempt resulted in unintelligible scribblings, which, although the work of adults, generally women, resemble a baby's first efforts to handle a pencil.

They appeared to have no difficulty in comprehending pictures, including those involving the recognition of objects in perspective. One man even introduced perspective into his own drawing, explaining that the woman in his picture was smaller because she was behind the others. Every one was much interested in some pictures I had with me, particularly photographs of primitive people in other parts of the world. They could interpret a photographic negative, even to the extent of recognizing themselves and their friends in it. They understood without explanation the plan I made of the village, and could tell me from it who lived in each house.

FIGURE CARVING

Reference has already been made to the representations of the human form made for marriage and puberty ceremonies. These

On the islands situated to the southeast bows and arrows are less important as instruments of war; there we find artistically woven shields and carefully wrought clubs (which recently have been displaced to a great extent by longhandled iron axes), whereas shields are completely absent in Bougainville and on the neighboring islands and clubs play a very minor rôle. The excellent arms of the northwestern Solomon Islanders have protected them for generations against the attacks of the headhunters from Vella Lavella and New Georgia. The latter have always ravaged the islands of Choiseul and Ysabel, but greatly feared the noiseless arrows of our region, which struck their mark from the distance so surely and effectively. And although in recent times the headhunters, especially from Australia, are well provided with firearms despite all prohibitions, they still do not dare to extend their raids farther than northern Choiseul. I have unfortunately frequently had the opportunity to find out personally how unprotected one feels against the silently flying arrows even if one is equipped with the best firearms.

Although my observations are incomplete and defective with regard to the interior tribes, I still felt that I was justified in publishing them: in part to supplement the observations of earlier writings about the Solomon Islands; and in part to arouse interest once again in these islands which are highly remarkable in every respect. The New Guinea Company in Berlin, which, by virtue of a royal letter of safe-conduct, is the actual ruler of this unknown region, unfortunately is not following the footsteps of the old Hamburg firm of Johann Cäsar Godeffroy, to which scholarship is indebted for extensive information about a great part of the South Seas. As a result of contact with the whites, which increases from year to year, many characteristic features are slowly beginning to disappear even on the northwestern Solomon Islands. Stone axes, for example, are no longer in actual use along the coast of Bougainville; they have been completely displaced by axes and knives of iron. Even among the inland tribes the new implements have replaced the old ones, though only quite recently. Only in the interior can one still occasionally obtain stone axes with the original handle, but on the coast the old implements must first be sought out laboriously from rubbish heaps, and even older people no longer know how to make the original binding. On the spears that formerly were prepared with the most minute care one now frequently finds strips of gaudy cotton material that are supposed to replace the former fine weaving. In the boats they now make use of sails (of white or bright-colored cotton material), which formerly were never used, since the boats were propelled exclusively by oars. Settlements and plantations

80 centimeters in diameter, and around this was an obliquely projecting rim -- 10 to 15 centimeters wide -- which was pierced by 4 to 6 triangular holes. This sort of shallow dish was called dara. The second type of dish was conical in shape; the flat round base was about 15 centimeters in diameter and the mouth 60 centimeters. The sides were about 40 centimeters high, curved gently inward, and provided with four triangular holes beneath the rim. In the bottom there was small diamond-shaped opening of about 1 centimeter in length on each side, probably to drain the fluid that collected in the dish. Pots of this form were called doado; they were filled with boiled and baked taros and yams. The triangular holes along the rim serve as handles when it is being carried. The third type--the handle basket--has the name koko. There were two different types of these baskets: some had a flat oval base, and the erect rim was pressed together at the sides and provided with a woven handle about 4 centimeters wide and 20 centimeters high; others consisted of a round plate whose sides were curved upward and connected with a handle. These baskets were also used for serving various dishes. The method of production is the same as is found in New Guinea, New Pomerania, and the Admiralty Islands. A strip of a tough variety of liana about 3 to 4 millimeters in diameter is sewed to another with 1 to 1 1/2 millimeter wide fiber threads. The strips are connected in pairs by coiling the thread around them. [derart dass die Windungen aus der ersteren paarweise untereinander durch Umwicklung verbunden werden.] Otherwise people use the usual simple baskets woven of cocoanut leaves.

[25] Tools

We will begin with the stone axes, which can also be counted among the weapons. Nowadays they are no longer in general use. In the interior of Bougainville I found them being used as late as 1898, and here they will possibly continue in use for a short time; in Nissan, Buka, in the coastal regions of Bougainville and on the Shortland Islands they now belong to the implements of the past.

Several years ago my attention was directed to these axes by a few specimens that were brought from Nissan and, with respect to shape, deviated significantly from the normal shape of primitive ax blades. I am publishing my investigations in detail in order to show how, step by

step, I attained a clear picture of these interesting implements, and partially also in order to show that it is not always so very easy to obtain reliable information. 411 412

The specimens from Nissan had been shown to me when people were on the point of packing them up and sending them to Berlin. At the beginning of 1895 I came to Buka and made it my business to search for stone axes. At first nobody seemed to know about such objects, but finally--after urgent questioning and after I had sketched a Nissan stone ax from memory and offered a large reward--I succeeded in bringing an ax blade to light. Enticed by the reward I had offered the islanders now began searching, and I succeeded in collecting a number of Buka ax blades; they are exactly like the ax blades from Nissan, which probably originally came from Buka, since Nissan is a raised coral island and affords no material for the making of the blades. All of these specimens, however, I received without the original binding, so that at first I was in doubt as to what that might be. They are of varying size, and the following description refers to a particularly well-preserved specimen: the entire length amounts to 21.5 centimeters; both ends are sharpened, and each cutting edge is 7 centimeters wide; in the middle the ax is 9 centimeters wide and about 5 centimeters thick. Just above the middle a carved groove about 2 centimeters wide and 2 1/2 to 3 millimeters deep encircles the blade; on one side it branches into two grooves, which have between them a small ridge about two centimeters wide and projecting 4 millimeters. I suspected, to be sure, that the described groove had served to fasten it to a handle, but was unable to obtain reliable information. The younger people apparently knew nothing about the matter, and the older ones supplied insufficient descriptions that I did not understand. 171

A few days later I visited the northeast tip of Bougainville, where I displayed the blades obtained in Buka. At first I was told that there were no such stone blades here. On the following day, however, they brought me a few blades that were quite different in shape from the Buka blades. I will describe one of these blades here: the entire length amounts to 28 centimeters. One end has a sharp and somewhat curved cutting edge 5 1/2 centimeters wide, and the other end is 6 1/2 centimeters wide and is ground down to a rather dull edge. The greatest width of the blade through the middle amounts to 7 1/2 centimeters, and its thickness about 6 centimeters; in cross section it is oval. The sides of the blade slope somewhat at both cutting edges, whereby the entire blade, which is ground smooth, acquires a light and elegant appearance. In the course of the day I acquired

several such articles. In order to become familiar with the lay of the land, I made a longer expedition on the following day into the interior, accompanied by a few natives whom I knew to be reliable. Two smaller villages, whose inhabitants all ran away, had already been passed when we arrived at a larger settlement, whose inhabitants -- probably relying on their superior numbers -- displayed sufficient courage to remain at home. A messenger sent out in advance had persuaded, if not the entire population, at least the male contingent to wait for me. I was received by a rather numerous force that was bristling with weapons, and who can describe my joy when I saw in the hands of a man who seemed to fill the office of a tūnun bura (chieftain) a real stone ax with its original binding. The rich gift that I exchanged for this splendid article, was of no small influence in initiating friendly relations. But despite the most enticing offers I did not succeed in obtaining further specimens of this type. A description of the highly singular binding of the bartered ax follows: about 14 centimeters from the sharp cutting edge a 78 centimeter long piece [26] of rattan is wound double around the blade. The two ends of the rattan are each 21 centimeters long and twisted together to form the handle that stands at right angles to the blade. The middle part of the rattan, which is wound double around the blade, is narrowed considerably and wrapped with a fine rattan fiber; this wrapping extends about 4 centimeters down on the shaft and is most carefully woven in order to attach the blade sufficiently well to the handle. This was also apparently the purpose of two rattan strips that -- emanating from the parts of the rattan loop which lay along the two side edges of the ax -- crossed at the middle of the duller blade and are wound around the ax blade several times above and below the handle. The end of the handle is likewise firmly wrapped with rattan strips. The stone ax itself is covered with a shining black varnish, which also completely covers the sharp cutting edge. The specimens I had obtained on the coast had no such varnish, and I later succeeded in acquiring only one more varnished blade without a handle. This varnish would immediately be scraped off if the ax were used as an artisan's tool. I therefore assumed that at least some of the stone axes are used as weapons, and subsequent statements of the natives confirmed this.

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After I had seen the above-described method of binding, the significance of the groove on the Buka blades was absolutely clear. When I later showed my Bougainville ax in Buka, I was informed by older people that the binding of their blades had been done in almost exactly the same way.

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When I visited these regions again in 1896, I again obtained a number of the above-mentioned blades and even a few with handles, but none with such a complete handle as the described specimen, which I can justifiably number among the truly splendid items of my collection. This time the trip extended also to Shortland and south Bougainville, and I succeeded in obtaining some similar stone axes as well as some quite new ones. It was on the Shortland Islands first of all that I obtained a few ax blades of a type previously unknown to me; for the greater part they were badly damaged, but for perfect specimens I was sent to the coastal villages of south Bougainville, which formerly had supplied Shortland with its needs. I then succeeded in bartering there for a large number of blades and some few specimens with the original handles. Specimens with handles seem already to be rather rare. The blades differ significantly in length: I obtained ones from 8 to 34 centimeters in length. I will describe one of the large ones in detail: the entire length amounts to 34 centimeters; the sharpened edge is 5 1/2 centimeters wide and semicircular; the side which is turned outward when it is fastened is rather more convex than the surface turned toward the shaft. The blade tapers from the edge toward the back -- at first inconspicuously, but then more and more so until it ends in a conical point; it is polished very smooth. It is fastened to the wooden shaft, which is bent like a knee, by means of a 5 to 6 centimeter wide ring of woven rattan strips; this is done in such a way that the blade is wedged more and more firmly against the shaft at every blow. The people of the coast, who get these blades from the inhabitants of the Crown Prince Range, have imitated them in tridachna shell, but these imitations do not seem to be particularly common, and I obtained only a few specimens.

In the village of Toborol on the east side of Bougainville the coastal inhabitants brought me into contact with natives who live in the vicinity of the Guinot Mountain. From these people also I enriched my collection to the extent of two ax blades, which deviate somewhat from the previously described ones. I will give a description of the larger of the two blades: the entire length amounts to 19 centimeters; the cutting edge is 9 1/2 centimeters wide and rather markedly curved; from the cutting edge the ax runs almost to a point; at the upper end, which is about 1 3/4 centimeters wide, there is a notch about 3 millimeters deep. When I asked the natives about the method of fastening it, it was explained that the handle had originally consisted of rattan that was wrapped around the blade and held fast

by other strips of rattan laid over the notch. It was not difficult to demonstrate the method with a piece of rattan. It is identical with the binding that I described from the Emperor Range. It seems accordingly that this method of fastening the ax blades is typical for middle Bougainville, north Bougainville, Buka and Nissan.

[27] We find a similar mode of fastening the ax blades again in the French Islands, on Cape Villaumez and at the south cape of New Pomerania, but a description of these objects is outside the realm of my present purposes.

I believe that in the preceding material I have given an exhaustive description of all stone ax blades occurring in the northwestern Solomon Islands; in any case I nowhere succeeded--despite the most careful inquiry--in finding other types. In Bougainville the demand for iron axes is especially great, and in a few years stone axes will have fallen completely into disuse there; the chance that led to me a few stone blades in their original condition may not be so favorable to later travelers. This is my excuse for the somewhat longwinded explanation of how I succeeded in clarifying this highly interesting method of binding, which deviates so radically from all other types.

Although stone axes unquestionably were used also as weapons in hand-to-hand combat--and still are in the interior of Bougainville--it is beyond doubt that they served primarily as artisan's tools. In this capacity they have been replaced for the most part by iron tools today--even in the inland villages, which maintain active relations with the coastal inhabitants and procure their requirements there.

On the small islands at the northwest end of Bougainville I saw numerous rows of cyprina shells which are found in the mangrove swamps. They serve as a medium of exchange in commerce with the mountain people. The latter use them as cutting and scraping instruments when they are making arrows, spears, bows, etc. In certain spots I have seen sharpened boar's teeth used as scrapers in the manufacture of wooden objects. Special types of coral serve as rasps for planing wooden boards. Sharpened oyster shells, which formerly were used as knives, have now been almost completely replaced by knives.

Whetstones of hard dark stone, which were formerly used for sharpening the stone blades, can be found everywhere; smaller whetstones made of a brown fine-grained stone--about the size of a hand--serve for sharpening smaller objects like fishhooks, etc.; today they are used for whetting knives and ax blades.

This actually exhausts the catalog of tools. With these few implements people were able in former times to produce just as carefully wrought arrows and spears, just as carefully planed boards for boat building, as they can with modern and more refined tools. It is a very mistaken assumption that natives, after they have adopted our far better tools, also make progress in the perfection of the objects made with them. Rather, one could assert the opposite. I cannot recall a single case in which objects fashioned nowadays are closer to perfection than the ones stemming from the remote past. The newer products have not even remained on the same level, but show a marked decline over a period of time. In the northwestern Solomon Islands this decline is not yet especially noticeable, but in small things the practiced eye already sees a falling off from the old strict traditions. The wrapping of the spears with gay-colored bast fibers has already in certain places been replaced by wrapping with a gay-colored piece of cotton material; the carving of the boat prows is more carelessly executed than it was years ago, and I could cite a whole series of further examples. It is with justification that we today seek to assemble as far as possible in ethnographic museums the objects that are doomed to extinction; nevertheless it is necessary to make haste lest much be lost completely or represented by poor imitations.

Weapons

Concerning weapons in general see page 2 f. above.

a) Spears

First of all the spears draw our attention because they are distinguished by especially careful workmanship, and, in addition, can be numbered among the most dangerous weapons of the South Sea peoples. Best known in European museums is probably the spear that [28] is made in great numbers in the villages of the southern Crown Prince Range. From there it makes its way far to the south and to the north as a coveted article of trade. (1)

1. Cf. for example Guppy, The Solomon Islands, Plate between pages 74 and 75, Figure 2; H. L. Roth, IAE, Vol. XI, 155.

In its entire length this spear measures approximately 340 centimeters, of which about 60 centimeters comprise the ornamented tip. The body of the spear is made of a hard palm wood and at the thickest point is about 2 1/2 centimeters in diameter; the end opposite the point tapers gradually and is about .5 centimeters in diameter at the end. The inland inhabitants call this spear kugu, and the Shortland Islanders, who mediate its export, potulu. The various parts of the point have their own names. First, the outermost tip -- about 1 1/2 centimeters long -- is carefully bound with yellow bast. Then there are 6 rows of barbs, which are arranged in groups of four in such a way that the ones closest to the extreme tip are the shortest. This last group of the six rows of barbs is called fruit (Shortland: kukuluna). Then there follow two rows of four barbs each, which are substantially longer than the barbs of the fruit. These two rows are called itina and itina takanne, and the individual barbs are named masfnke and mamongke; the barbs of the row towards the tip (masfnke) are about 6 centimeters long and those of the following row (mamongke) about 8 centimeters. There now follows a row of four approximately 10 centimeter long barbs, which are called puugu (Shortland: kumaisi). Between the four puugu there stand four rows, each having five short barbs--about .5 centimeters long--called sisfka; they are fastened to the spear shaft by means of fine bast threads and coated with a white clay found in the mountains and called moruvassi (Shortland: fioi). This just-described section comprises the actual tip of the spear. The barbs are made from the wingbones of the flying dog (Pteropus, "bat"); the outer end is sharply pointed, and the inner end is sunk into the spear shaft and fastened here with the pulverized nut of Parinarium laurinum, which here is called osfio. A brown earth, ugura, and a white earth moruvassi are used to decorate the shaft as well as the barbs. This barbed part of the spear is followed by an ornamented section, which can never be completely missing even if it occasionally is not completely executed. This ornamented section consists of four divisions: first, the last row of barbs is followed by a carefully executed wrapping of the shaft with red and yellow plant fibers of about one millimeter in width. The yellow ones are called rutta (Shortland: lafili) and the red ones rakagassi (Shortland: paunaga); they are the external covering or skin of a type of rush that grows in the interior. By means of various treatments, it assumes these colors. This woven work forms a row of alternately red and yellow zigzag lines, which run around the spear

shaft. The weaving itself is called ruu (Shortland: nfnamu). This woven work is followed by a carving that goes all around the shaft and represents two human figures. This part is called kägoi (Shortland: käpoina) and may never be missing on a complete spear; the same is true for the knob that follows it: uiru (Shortland: zimpu putuna). The uiru is a knob of 3 1/2 centimeters in diameter made of firmly pressed red and yellowish leaf fibers. The yellow fibers form an approximately 3 millimeter wide center ring, which is bounded on both sides by a hemisphere made of red fibers; the yellow ring is called zigäre. This knob, in turn, is followed by a decoration of red and yellow weaving made of the same material as the previously described woven ornament--only the zigzag lines do not run around the spear shaft, but along it. Occasionally the whole remaining spear shaft is covered with this red and yellow braidwork, but this sort of spear seems to be rather rare, and I have seen only one. The carved ornament, kägoi, and the sphere that follows it, uiru, have a special significance, although I am not in a position to explain it fully. According to the information I received kägoi seems to be a symbol of the lethal power inherent in the spear: "it sees the enemy," an old native told me; and the deceased Gorai, in his primitive English, gave me the explanation: "he all the same eye," that is, it is like the eye. He designated the head as "house belong käpoina," that is, the house or the domicile of the käpoina or the kägoi. I wish to observe here that the same ornament not infrequently also occurs on arrow shafts; I do not recall ever having seen it in other connections. On the arrow shafts it is not always completely executed; sometimes only the face is sketchily hinted at, but one cannot fail to recognize it as one and the same ornament.

[29] Just as the described spears diffuse far to the south by way of trade, so they also come to the north, and not infrequently you find them in Buka, where indeed they are imitated here and there without attaining, to be sure, the artistic skill of the mountain inhabitants of Bougainville. On the other hand, I never found them among the numerous inhabitants that I saw from the interior of northern Bougainville. The forms current here are by far more varied, although I cannot say that in carefulness of execution they exceed those from south Bougainville. But before I say anything more specific about these spears, it will be of interest to find out what articles the inland inhabitants of south Bougainville receive to

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exchange for their products. The principal medium of exchange consists of white shell bracelets made of tridacna (giant mollusk). These very carefully made rings--called gorau in Shortland--are made in Rubiana and New Georgia and come from there to Shortland on the trade routes. Although these rings have recently been rather closely imitated in Europe in porcelain-paste [Porzellanmasse] and have been circulated in trade, these imitations still do not have anywhere near the value of the original arm rings. A real tridacha bracelet is just as valuable as a spear, yet four rings made in Europe scarcely suffice for the same purpose. It is astonishing how great the demand is for such spears. Old Gorai, who to a certain extent had a monopoly on this trade, showed me on the occasion of a visit a number of bundles of spears, which could not have contained less than two thousand items. Likewise, numerous bundles of tridacna bracelets proved that he intended to make new purchases.

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The form of the spear in south Bougainville is constant. In north Bougainville it is highly irregular. At the northeast end I came into contact with numerous natives from the interior. Also I have had opportunity to visit them in their mountain villages, but I have never been able to find a single spear form that is typical for this region. The various spear forms can be divided into four main groups:

Group I: smooth spears without barbs.

Group II: spears with barbs that are carved out of the body of the spear.

Group III: spears with inserted barbs made of a different material from the spear shaft.

Group IV: multi-pronged spears.

In all of these the ornamentation by means of painting, carving, and the attachment of braid work is extremely varied and seems to be adapted to the taste of the individual artisan. The actual shaft of the north Bougainville spears is frequently square and wrapped its entire length with pandanus leaves. The material for the fabrication of spears is generally the same as in south Bougainville, but in addition other materials are also used, such as hard wood species for barbs, likewise fish bones, pieces from the beak of the rhinoceros bird, etc. Nowhere in north Bougainville do we find braidwork as carefully executed as in the south; frequently the wrapping of the shaft with yellow fiber material (u̯ire in north Bougainville and u̯ale in Buka) done

in the same fashion as on the south Bougainville spears replaces in these areas the braiding. The red-dyed fiber material that is used in the south is not used for the decoration of spears in the north--at least I do not recall a single case; however, this red fiber material is known there, for it is used in making bracelets and belts.

b) Arrows

After the spear come the bow and arrow as the principal weapons of the inhabitants of the northwestern Solomon Islands. The spears are always present in significantly fewer numbers. If a person leaves his village, whether by land or by water, bows and arrows are always his inseparable companions, and at the slightest suspicious noise the right hand holds an arrow ready to be placed on the bow string.

We will begin with a discussion of the arrows. There are large and extensive districts that are not familiar with their production--a fact that I mentioned above (page 2). On Buka, for example, no arrows are made, and likewise they are not made in a large part of the coastal districts of Bougainville nor on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. The natives of these regions obtain their requirements from the mountain villages of Bougainville--not only the elaborate arrows with the variously arranged barbs, but also the arrows with the entirely smooth point. To be sure, the arrow industry is also encountered [30] on the island of Nissan, about 30 nautical miles northwest of Buka, but from here there is only a small export to Buka. I assume that it was the isolated position of the Nissan group that compelled the local inhabitants, who differ in no way from the Buka people, to make their own arrows, because the importation from Buka, with which Nissan maintains communications by boat, did not suffice to cover the need. The Nissan arrows do not differ essentially from the arrows of Bougainville, and the Buka people who go to Nissan today still take along Bougainville arrows.

The description of the arrows is not easy because the forms are so extremely varied. A systematic division will be of use here likewise. Since in the course of the years I have not only had several thousand arrows in my hands, but also had the opportunity to observe countless quantities of this type of weapon on the spot, I believe that the following division into various groups will comprise all types:

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I. Arrows with smooth tips:
   a) with a round tip;
   b) with a square tip.

II. Arrows whose tips are equipped with barbs:
   a) with barbs that are carved out of the tip itself;
   b) with barbs that are made of a different material from the tip, (that is, bones, fish bones, thorns, etc.) and are artificially connected with the latter.

III. Arrows with several points, used for catching fish.

The arrow consists of the tip and the shaft. The tip varies in length from 30 to 50 centimeters. It is always inserted three to four centimeters into the shaft and bound firmly to it with a fine bast thread; for greater strength the joint is coated with the pulverized fruit of parinarium laurinum. [824]

There are no poison arrows in the Solomon Islands although this assertion is constantly repeated. An arrow equipped with barbs is in itself a sufficiently dangerous weapon without needing to be poisonous in addition. Deep wounds inflicted by such arrows are highly dangerous because it is almost impossible to remove the arrow without leaving fragments behind. If the wound is in a fleshy part of the body, it is preferable to shove the arrow tip entirely through the wound; but if the arrow is in the trunk of the body--say in the chest or stomach cavity--then the wound is regarded as deadly from the very outset. The smooth arrows, although dangerous enough in themselves, do not cause such ghastly wounds, and these generally heal rapidly unless more sensitive areas have been damaged. The yellow fiber material with which the arrow tip is wrapped at its extreme sharp end, is not poisonous and serves solely to protect the point that otherwise would easily be damaged.

The shaft, on the average, is 1 meter long and sometimes even a little more. At the lower end it is almost always wrapped with fine bast fibers and smeared with the pulverized nut of parinarium in order to prevent the shaft from splitting. [824] The extreme lower end is notched as a rule; the notch is produced simply by making an oblique cut across the bottom; when the arrow is placed on the bowstring, the soft pith in the inside of the shaft gives without resistance.

In Buka and north Bougainville the arrow point is called pill, in the Crown Prince Range and in Shortland mãsnou and (if equipped with 411 171

barbs) uarâu; the shaft is called unga and farther south kungkung. [411] [411]

In most cases one sees on the arrow shaft an engraved black design above the individual knots of the cane. In Buka this design is called korakoroto. For a long time I regarded it as simply an ornament, but in recent years I have come to the conclusion that the engraved design is to be considered a sort of trademark whereby the maker designates his ware. To be sure, I did not succeed in ascertaining beyond a doubt whether the design is supposed to represent the name of the maker or the name of the district where the arrow was made. But this much is certain: in Carola Harbor (Buka) I [31] was told precisely the place of origin of arrows I had acquired by trade on the north coast of Bougainville; and, upon asking how they were able to specify the origin so precisely, I received the reply that the design on the knots of the arrow shaft was the korokoroto of this or that place, whereby the places were mentioned where I had acquired the arrows. 411 422

c) Bows

The bow is made from the outer hard wood of a type of palm; as a rule it is about 2 meters long, about 4 centimeters wide in the middle, and gradually tapers toward the ends. The outer side is flat and almost always dyed dark-brown to black. The side facing the string is convex and often polished to a high gloss; along the middle there runs a single or double black line. When the bow is being used, this serves the marksman as a sight, since the bowstring and this line must always be in a certain relation to each other when the arrow is being released. The best bows come from the interior of Bougainville and are highly coveted in the coastal regions as well as in Buka. The bowstring is twisted out of strong plant fibers and frequently wrapped with the often mentioned yellow fiber material--partially to prevent the string from raveling and partially also as an ornament. The string is permanently attached to one end of the bow, and the other end is easily detachable so that the bow can be strung more tautly or more loosely at will. If the string is to be adjusted, the bowman holds the bow upright before him holding the lower end with the big toe of his left foot, and the other end with his left hand. With this he bends the bow gently and 411

with his right hand releases the string which is lengthened or shortened as desired, accordingly to the amount of tension needed. The end of the string fastened to the bow is called hapitta in Buka, and the adjustable end is called kopul.

When using the bow, the bowman holds it in his left hand along with his supply of arrows (usually 10 to 15). The index finger of this hand is somewhat extended and serves to press the arrow gently against the bow. The right hand grasps the arrow at its lower end between the thumb and the bent index finger and presses the notch against the string, drawing it at the same time. When the arrow is released the bow is always held in such a way that the arrow is poised at eye height to the bowman; the position of the bow seems to be chosen at will: sometimes it is held vertically and sometimes more or less slanted. Some bowmen possess great facility in the use of their weapon and only rarely miss their mark. Especially the inhabitants of the mountain villages of the Emperor Range are formidable opponents; they are able to seek shelter behind even the slightest cover, and from there they send their rarely erring arrows against the enemy, who in turn displays extraordinary agility in escaping the shot. It is always interesting to watch the boys in a village when they are practicing bow shooting. For this purpose they use smaller bows of bamboo and, instead of arrows, harmless plant stalks. To be sure, they also make small arrows from the individual pinnules of coconut leaves, and with these they hunt fish on the coral reefs or small birds or shoot at a target that has been set up; although these bows may look harmless, they can produce sensitive wounds even though they are used by the young marksmen as an actual weapon only in exceptional cases. I heard of a case in a village at Carola Harbor in which an enraged young warrior pierced both cheeks of another boy with such an arrow.

To protect their bow arm the islanders have a highly ingenious contrivance. It consists of a ten or twelvefold spiral of tree bark, which covers the entire lower arm from the wrist to the elbow. These arm pads are called haveloso in Buka.

d) Clubs

The club has far less significance in these regions. It is made of a hard palm wood and is about 130 centimeters long. The striking end

is lancet-shaped and takes up about one-half of the whole club; the greatest width of the striking end in the middle amounts to about 7 1/2 centimeters; along the [32] middle of the lancet-shaped striking end there runs a raised center rib all the way to the extreme point; as a rule the blade is provided with an engraved ornamentation on one side. The upper half comprises the shaft or the handle; it is about 4 to 4 1/2 centimeters wide and is pointed at the top. The entire handle is wrapped with strips of rattan, in such a way that each circle of red-dyed rattan (about 8 centimeters wide) is succeeded by a wrapping of yellow rattan of the same dimensions, and so on alternately all the way to the end.

Navigation

It has already been mentioned that active commerce by water goes on between the various coastal and island tribes, and that boat trips not infrequently extend to great distances. Therefore it is understandable that the Solomon Islanders expend great care in the production of their boats. For normal fishing in the immediate vicinity of the coast and on the coral reefs they use rafts and simple boats with outriggers. For longer journeys they use boats constructed carefully of boards and without outriggers.

As a rule the rafts consist of three or four tree trunks laid adjacent to each other and pointed at both ends; the individual trunks are fastened to one another by means of hardwood pegs.

Simple boats are made of a single tree trunk; they come to a point at both ends and have two or three outriggers and floats, depending on their length. On the island of Nissan these boats are especially narrow so that the hollowed-out space just suffices for placing one leg in front of the other; these Nissan boats frequently have outriggers and floats on both sides. As a rule these boats are not used for long journeys; they are used in calm weather for fishing on the high seas and for traffic in the harbors shut off by islands and reefs. These boats come in all sizes; from a few meters long and barely sufficing to carry one man, up to a length sufficient for 5 to 6 occupants. As a rule the larger ones have a platform on the outriggers that is parallel to the long axis of the boat and consisting of staves placed close together and attached to the wood of the outriggers; sometimes a